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THE
ROOSEVELT PILGRIMAGE
OF 1922



THE
ROOSEVELT
PILGRIMAGE
OF 1922

BEING A RECORD OF THE
PILGRIMAGE OF CERTAIN FRIENDS
OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT TO HIS
GRAVE AND TO HIS HOME, ON THE
THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH



PRIVATELY PRINTED

1922

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THE ROOSEVELT PILGRIMAGE

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EVERY great nation owes to the men whose lives have formed part of its greatness not merely the material effect of what they did, not merely the laws they placed upon the statute books or the victories they won over armed foes, but also the immense but indefinable moral influence produced by their deeds and words themselves upon the national character. . . . It is not only the country which these men helped to make and helped to save that is ours by inheritance; we inherit also all that is best and highest in their characters and in their lives.

—Theodore Roosevelt.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| FOREWORD | xiii |
| THE ROOSEVELT PILGRIMAGE OF 1922, by Janet Stewart | i |
| INTERNATIONAL PEACE, an address by Theodore Roosevelt, delivered at Christiania, Norway, before the Nobel Prize Committee, May 5, 1910; read by James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior in President Roosevelt's Cabinet | 7 |
| ADDRESS AT SAGAMORE HILL, by Dr. Lyman Abbott | 15 |
| THE CALL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY, a facsimile reproduction of Theodore Roosevelt's manuscript, with an introduction by Ethel Roosevelt Derby..... | 18 |
| TEXT OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT..... | 33 |
| THE DEACON'S PRAYER, a poem by Samuel Valentine Cole | 41 |
| CHARTER MEMBERS | 44 |

FOREWORD

THE PURPOSE of The Roosevelt Pilgrimage is to perpetuate the ideals of Theodore Roosevelt by an annual visit to his grave with simple and appropriate ceremony. The idea first suggested itself to Mr. E. A. Van Valkenburg, of the Philadelphia *North American*. In the autumn of 1920, in response to a letter sent to some of Colonel Roosevelt's old friends and supporters, signed by Messrs. James R. Garfield, Gifford Pinchot, Herbert Knox Smith, E. A. Van Valkenburg, and Lawrence F. Abbott, a small group went to Oyster Bay on the morning of January 6, 1921. The group consisted of the gentlemen already named as the signers of the letter of invitation and Messrs. William Flinn, of Pittsburgh, Harold Ickes, of Chicago, William Draper Lewis, of Philadelphia, and William Allen White, of Emporia, Kansas. On arrival at Oyster Bay the party, by arrangement, called on Mrs. Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill, and spent an hour of delightful conversation and reminiscence with her in Theodore Roosevelt's study. The cheerful log-fire burning on the hearth was indicative of the spirit of the meeting,—a spirit of happiness and gratefulness that Roosevelt had lived, had impressed his influence on his country, and had admitted the members of the group to intimacy and friendship with him. After leaving Sagamore Hill the group visited Roosevelt's grave, where Mr. Van Valkenburg read the following statement:

We who were privileged to stand beside Theodore Roosevelt during those memorable April days of 1912 are gathered here not to pay unneeded tribute to a beloved leader, but rather to draw from this hallowed spot renewed faith and inspiration, and to reaffirm our undying devotion to the doctrines which he taught and exemplified.

The great war has left the world bereft of trusted and commanding moral leadership, and, unhappily, our nation is not the least to suffer. But that same Providential guardianship which ever has guided our national destiny seems plainly to have provided a leadership to meet the supreme demands of the hour.

Theodore Roosevelt is to-day more than ever a vitalizing, dominant force in the hearts and aspirations of millions of his countrymen. His principles of universal righteousness and virile progressive Americanism are a sacred creed to which they give devout adherence. With a fitting sense of reverence we assert that the teachings of Theodore Roosevelt are as essential to the normal, moral life of a nation as the laws of Mount Sinai are to the normal, moral life of man.

It is a fact of profound significance that Theodore Roosevelt dead is something inconceivable to the masses who came within the sway of his physical presence, and to other millions who felt his powerful personality through intangible processes. Theodore Roosevelt living is a logical and impelling belief to these men and women.

His mind, his spirit, his personality remain unaltered. His virtues—his sincerity, his courage, his honesty, his common sense, his human tenderness and chivalry—are a living, imperishable force. To multitudes of men Theodore Roosevelt is still their great leader. To multitudes of women he is still their valiant champion. To multitudes of children he is still their loved companion.

The aggregate estimate of the masses is unerring. By common consent Theodore Roosevelt remains the embodiment of the qualities and aspirations of the American people. To them his life-long battle was in exceptional harmony with divine law. To preserve with the living this existing consciousness and to project it into the minds of generations yet to come, it is proposed that this little group shall become the nucleus of a still larger number of his tested disciples, to arrange an annual pilgrimage to his shrine on this date for all who care to come.

Here they may make solemn reaffirmation of their allegiance to

the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, and take such action as will serve best to keep alive vital interest in his principles and policies.

That a pilgrimage should be made to this consecrated spot is not the conception of a single mind. It is the spontaneous, universal expression which has come straight from the heart of America, in which he is immortally enshrined. In increasing thousands earnest visitors journey to this place. No day in the year is so forbidding as to halt entirely the ceaseless procession of worshipers.

We here to-day strive only to act in harmony with this ever-increasing pilgrim throng, to the end that we may do our small part in keeping America's face toward true democracy, that goal for which Theodore Roosevelt so bravely fought, the same democracy taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth nineteen centuries ago.

Only in this way can we as a nation attain that just victory and righteous peace which are the ultimate aim of human government.

Mr. Pinchot then proposed this resolution, which was adopted:

In order to carry into effect the purposes which have just been set before us, we who were privileged to stand beside Theodore Roosevelt in the memorable April days of 1912 resolve to return in annual pilgrimage to his grave upon the anniversary of his death, and

That we invite all who love the man and honor the leader to join with us in this recurring testimony of our devotion to his teaching and his example, and

That we later take such further action as will provide for the annual pilgrimage and will serve to keep alive a vital interest in the principles and personality of Theodore Roosevelt.

After this brief and simple ceremony the group adjourned by invitation to the house of Mrs. Richard Derby (Ethel Roosevelt) for luncheon, and after the luncheon an organization was formed, with Dr. Lyman Abbott as permanent Chairman, Mr. Van Valkenburg as Vice-Chairman, and Lawrence F. Abbott as Secretary. Messrs. Garfield, Pinchot, Knox Smith, Van Valkenburg, and Lawrence Abbott were elected an

Executive Committee. The Roosevelt Pilgrimage was unanimously adopted as the name of the Association.

This booklet is a record of the growth of this initial meeting into what is believed will be a permanent body of those who honor the name of Theodore Roosevelt as an American of the highest type.

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT.



The Pilgrims Approaching the Grave



THE ROOSEVELT PILGRIMAGE OF 1922

BY JANET STEWART

(Reprinted by permission from the Philadelphia *North American*)

WINDING up the steep incline of a sunlit hill a group of men and women outlined themselves sharply against a winter sky. There were some threescore of them and ten. By their seriousness of expression and the slow movement of their progress they took on the aspect of a solemn band of pilgrims ascending the rough pathway to some hillside shrine.

Still on and up they marched until the last turn being rounded they grouped themselves upon the summit, forming a silent semicircle around a simple grave.

The leader is a man snowy with years, who takes his place at the head of the waiting crescent beside the gateway of the plain, inclosing grill.

It is the Roosevelt pilgrimage. Here on the sunny January day, so great a contrast to that other January day three years ago, when up the same steep they had followed their great leader to his grave, come from every corner of the land he served a band of his devoted followers to do him honor and refresh their love.

The white-haired figure at their head is Lyman Abbott. The others who, hat in hand, stand waiting for his voice to break the silence are men whose names are known and honored wherever love of country and progressive aims have found a shrine. They are the inmost circle of the great Roosevelt's friends, who, a compact bodyguard of love and trust, stood close beside him when he took and gave his blows.

It is the third anniversary of Roosevelt's death, and it is the second annual pilgrimage to where his body sleeps. The conception of two or three of those who longed to keep alive the spirit he embodied, it has grown until it now numbers as its charter members the leading men and women of the progressive movement. To that number to-day are added others, for it is now a pilgrimage open to all who feel its call, and here around his grave can be seen those whose only claim upon his memory is love and living admiration.

It is a strange scene and a simple one, as simple as the great heart that lies there beneath the sod. There are no elaborate or lengthy services to do him empty honor. It is love which has impelled this most unique of all memorials—love and a longing to renew an inspiration at its source. So here beside his resting place it is his own words only which find an echo in their hearts.

The silence is broken. It is the words of his great Nobel peace prize address read by James R. Garfield, which float out above the waters of the ice-rimmed bay, that enduring call to sanity and selflessness, to steadiness of purpose and clarity of thought. Like a prophecy fulfilled, their prescience pierces through the problems

and conditions of a world eleven years older than when he brought it into play.

No more fitting, no more needed counsel could be given a people reaching out for peace. It is not long, the Nobel peace essay of Theodore Roosevelt, and when it is finished the silent procession winds once more among the graveyard hills. Downward this time, stirred with the purpose to carry on the principles he never allowed to become befuddled or confused.

At the grave was a large wreath of laurel and palms, the gift of the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association. During the visit to the cemetery, Mrs. Thomas Robins, of Philadelphia, placed beside it another wreath of autumn leaves as a tribute from Philadelphia.

The automobiles which had brought the party from the station of Oyster Bay and those which had made the trip from New York again formed into line, headed now for the home on Sagamore Hill. It was the desire of Mrs. Roosevelt that those who had made the journey to her husband's grave should not go away without a welcome at his home. And there she met them on the porch, remembering each one, recalling to each one some personal touch, some private little bit of friendship Roosevelt had felt for him.

Never was so strange an anniversary of death. Sorrow found no lurking place anywhere. It was as though he were there in the next room. The years had made no change. It seems impossible to make a follower of Roosevelt believe that the man he still follows is no longer here. To those who know the immense force of the man his soul goes marching on. It was only necessary to look at the eager, animated band

gathered where he had stood to know that his followers are marching where he leads.

Over the whole lower floor of the house they were allowed to roam at will, recalling his innumerable mementos, handling his invaluable possessions, the tributes of affection from an admiring world. Laughter broke through the hum of voices at every fresh Roosevelt anecdote.

"Did you ever hear," queried one man, "how Roosevelt wrote to an untried guide out west? Well, he wrote: 'If I should come out to your country, do you think I could get one of your mountain goats?' The man wrote back: 'If your shooting is not any better than your writing, I don't think you could.'"

After the informal luncheon, at which his daughter Mrs. Richard Derby and Mrs. William Loeb, Jr., presided, came an equally informal gathering in the great north room, where hang the Roosevelt trophies of so many a mighty hunt. To them clustered there about the open fire Mrs. Derby read from the original, so characteristically interlined manuscript, the proclamation which Roosevelt issued after the second ballot at Chicago in 1912, when it became evident there was a block to beat him. To most of those who listened to-day there came back with all the dramatic force of its first publication in a tenseness that gripped men's souls the leader's fiery declaration of his determination to leave the party which was flouting him and to lead his followers in a bolt.

It was an informal meeting of the charter members which followed the reading, with Lyman Abbott, the permanent chairman, presiding. To the reading of the Roosevelt proclamation and the reading of some

verses which he loved the other members of the party were admitted. But they withdrew before the business was taken up.

Hermann Hagedorn, picking up a little book, told how he had come across it lately among the volumes that Roosevelt loved. It is a collection of verses by Samuel Valentine Cole, and in it is one marked by the heavy scoring Roosevelt used to accentuate his liking. It is called "The Deacon's Prayer," and the big voice of Hagedorn boomed out the virile longing, "We Ask Thee for Some Dangerous Man."

"We ask Thee for some dangerous man.

Was not thy servant, Lincoln, one—

Him whom they hated so and slew?

Recall thy servant, Washington;

Thine enemies found him dangerous, too."

Among those whose names are not enrolled with the selected number who make up the list of charter members was one man who at the Pennsylvania station in New York approached the waiting group of the Roosevelt pilgrimage and asked whether there was any chance of his being allowed to join it.

"My name," he said, "is Eugene Beltz. There never was a time when I didn't love Roosevelt. I am seventy years old and I've read everything he ever wrote that I could get my hands on, and I've followed him as best I could. I saw in the paper that any one who loved him would be allowed to make the pilgrimage to-day. So, as I'd a day off to-day—I'm a car inspector from Packerton, Carbon county, Pa.—I said to myself I'd take the chance, I might be let in, so I set my alarm

clock for 2.30 for this morning and got up and then walked five miles to take a train to get here, and I'd like it awfully well if you'd let me go along."

Well, he went. And he went to the house where Roosevelt had lived, and he took part in all that happened there and saw the things that Roosevelt loved, and when he came away he said simply, "I never thought before that dreams came true."

It is of stuff like that that Roosevelt followers are made.





INTERNATIONAL PEACE

AN ADDRESS BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT DELIVERED AT CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY, BEFORE THE NOBEL PRIZE COMMITTEE, MAY 5, 1910. READ AT THE GRAVE IN YOUNGS' MEMORIAL CEMETERY BY JAMES R. GARFIELD, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR IN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CABINET.

WE must ever bear in mind that the great end in view is righteousness, justice as between man and man, nation and nation, the chance to lead our lives on a somewhat higher level, with a broader spirit of brotherly good will one for another. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. We despise and abhor the bully, the brawler, the oppressor, whether in private or public life; but we despise no less the coward and the voluptuary. No man is worth calling a man who will not fight rather than submit to infamy or see those that are dear to him suffer wrong. No nation deserves to exist if it permits itself to lose the stern and virile virtues; and this without regard to whether the loss is due to the

growth of a heartless and all-absorbing commercialism, to prolonged indulgence in luxury and soft, effortless ease, or to the deification of a warped and twisted sentimentality.

Moreover, and above all, let us remember that words count only when they give expression to deeds or are to be translated into them. The leaders of the Red Terror prattled of peace while they steeped their hands in the blood of the innocent; and many a tyrant has called it peace when he has scourged honest protest into silence. Our words must be judged by our deeds, and in striving for a lofty ideal we must use practical methods; and if we cannot attain all at one leap, we must advance toward it step by step, reasonably content so long as we do actually make some progress in the right direction.

Now, having freely admitted the limitations to our work and the qualifications to be borne in mind, I feel that I have the right to have my words taken seriously when I point out where, in my judgment, great advance can be made in the cause of international peace. I speak as a practical man, and whatever I now advocate I actually tried to do when I was for the time being the head of a great nation and keenly jealous of its honor and interest. I ask other nations to do only what I should be glad to see my own nation do.

The advance can be made along several lines. First of all there can be treaties of arbitration. There are, of course, states so backward that a civilized community ought not to enter into an arbitration treaty with them, at least until we have gone much further than at present in securing some kind of international police action. But all really civilized communities should have ef-

fective arbitration treaties among themselves. I believe that these treaties can cover almost all questions liable to arise between such nations, if they are drawn with the explicit agreement that each contracting party will respect the other's territory and its absolute sovereignty within that territory, and the equally explicit agreement that (aside from the very rare cases where the nation's honor is vitally concerned) all other possible subjects of controversy will be submitted to arbitration. Such a treaty would insure peace unless one party deliberately violated it. Of course as yet there is no adequate safeguard against such deliberate violation, but the establishment of a sufficient number of these treaties will go a long way toward creating a world opinion which would finally find expression in the provision of methods to forbid or punish any such violation.

Secondly, there is the further development of the Hague Tribunal, of the work of the conferences and courts at The Hague. It has been well said that the first Hague Conference framed a Magna Charta for the nations; it set before us an ideal which has already to some extent been realized, and toward the full realization of which we can all steadily strive. The second Conference made further progress; the third should do yet more. Meanwhile the American Government has more than once tentatively suggested methods for completing the Court of Arbitral Justice, constituted at the second Hague Conference, and for rendering it effective. It is earnestly to be hoped that the various governments of Europe, working with those of America and of Asia, shall set themselves seriously to the task of devising some method which shall accomplish this

result. If I may venture the suggestion, it would be well for the statesmen of the world, in planning for the erection of this world court, to study what has been done in the United States by the Supreme Court. I cannot help thinking that the Constitution of the United States, notably in the establishment of the Supreme Court and in the methods adopted for securing peace and good relations among and between the different States, offers certain valuable analogies to what should be striven for in order to secure, through the Hague courts and conferences, a species of world federation for international peace and justice. There are, of course, fundamental differences between what the United States Constitution does and what we should even attempt at this time to secure at The Hague; but the methods adopted in the American Constitution to prevent hostilities between the States, and to secure the supremacy of the Federal Court in certain classes of cases, are well worth the study of those who seek at The Hague to obtain the same results on a world scale.

In the third place, something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments, by international agreement. No one power could or should act by itself; for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a power which really does believe in peace should place itself at the mercy of some rival which may at bottom have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But, granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments. An

agreement merely to limit the size of ships would have been very useful a few years ago, and would still be of use; but the agreement should go much further.

Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. The supreme difficulty in connection with developing the peace work of The Hague arises from the lack of any executive power, of any police power, to enforce the decrees of the court. In any community of any size the authority of the courts rests upon actual or potential force; on the existence of a police, or on the knowledge that the able-bodied men of the country are both ready and willing to see that the decrees of judicial and legislative bodies are put into effect. In new and wild communities where there is violence, an honest man must protect himself; and until other means of securing his safety are devised, it is both foolish and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power, competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought themselves of committing aggressions. The combina-

tion might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.





Dr. Lyman Abbott at the Grave



ADDRESS AT SAGAMORE HILL

BY LYMAN ABBOTT



FEW of us once at the White House were listening to Mr. Roosevelt as he read to us the draft of a forthcoming message to Congress. Suddenly he stopped, swung round in his swivel chair away from his desk, in the vigorous fashion so characteristic of him, and said: "My critics will call this preaching. But I have got such a bully pulpit." He had, indeed, "a bully pulpit," and he was a great preacher. I do not believe that any one service he rendered his country, and his services were great, transcends in importance that which he rendered by awakening in the nation its civic conscience. Probably the memory of no man in this room runs farther back than mine. I recollect very well the time when those whom we somewhat patronizingly called "our best citizens" were accustomed to declare, "I take no interest in politics." True, they still often take no interest in politics, but they no longer boast of it. To take all the advantages of citizenship in this great republic and to perform none of the duties of citizenship is matter for humble confession, not for pharisaic boasting. No man has exerted so profound and nation-wide an influence as Mr. Roosevelt in changing this boast into a

confession and calling into the service of their country, in office and out of office, classes of citizens who in the olden time were callously indifferent to the call of duty.

We all recognized the aptness of the passage from Mr. Roosevelt's Nobel prize speech, so wisely selected and so admirably read by Mr. Garfield this morning at the grave of our honored leader; and we have said to ourselves and to each other, "What a prophet he was. What a vision of the future he had." Surely he was a prophet; surely he had a vision of the future; surely he saw it scarcely less clearly than we now see its realization in this day when the world's great statesmen are fulfilling in America's capital the prophecy of America's greatest preacher of righteousness. It was because he was a great preacher of righteousness that he was a great prophet; it was because he saw so clearly the invisible moral forces at work in his own land and his own time that he saw so clearly what would be their victory in the not distant future.

Life is what we make it; but we often build more wisely than we know because of the powers within us that are making for righteousness, though we know it not. Theodore Roosevelt with the courage of faith believed in Frederick Douglass's motto, "One with God is a majority," and he won his splendid victory because that was the majority with which he always sought to ally himself.

It has been a great privilege to stand to-day at his grave and hear interpreted to us by one of his loved and honored lieutenants his voice summoning us to our life's duty. It is a great privilege to stand here to-day in the home which to his friends has been so sacred a

place in the past and find it still radiant with the same spirit of faith and hope and love as of old.

But let us not forget that he expressed his inward life by deeds that speak louder than words, and that we shall truly honor his memory and deserve his continuing friendship only as each of us, in his own way and according to his own ability and opportunity, is also a preacher of righteousness by living a life of patriotic service and sacrifice.





THE CALL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

READ AT THE MEETING IN THE TROPHY ROOM BY
MRS. DERBY FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT



ON June 20, 1912, the Auditorium Annex in Chicago was a very stirring place.

That was the day when my father read to the delegates and their friends in the Florentine Room a statement explaining that he would not abide by the choice of the Republican Convention unless the fraudulent delegates were unseated. Those of us who were there will never forget the weary, tense-faced crowds, the enthusiasm, the high resolve of those inspiring hours.

Afterward when my father came up to the sitting-room, he still held the statement. As he threw it down I took it, and here it is.

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY.

The Old Adam House, Oyster Bay,
February 10, 1922.

A FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S MANUSCRIPT



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES

CHICAGO.

The time has come when I feel that I must make certain statements not merely to the honestly elected members of the Republican National Convention, but to the rank and file of the Republican party, and to the ^{honest} ~~plain~~ people of the entire nation.

I went into this fight for certain
great principles. ~~that was the~~
~~only reason I entered it.~~
~~I have never regretted it.~~
~~I have never been sorry~~
~~for what I have done.~~
~~I have never been~~
~~sorry for what I have~~
~~done.~~
~~I have never been~~
~~sorry for what I have~~
~~done.~~
At this moment,
therefore, however, I can only serve these prin-
ciples by continuing to bear the personal responsibility
which their advocacy has brought to me.



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES.

CHICAGO,

On behalf of these principles I made my appeal straight to the people themselves; I went before them, I made my argument in full; and every word I made was in the open, without concealment of any kind. The opposition to me was extraordinarily bitter, for I was opposed by the practically solid phalanx of the ^{big, considerable} political bosses with back of them the practically solid phalanx of the big, considerable beneficiaries of special privilege in every form, and of course the many large newspapers which are controlled by or in the interest of the bosses and special privilege.

Nevertheless, true in the appeal to the people I won. In the ^{many} majority of the Republican States, and ~~in the~~ ^{in the} Democratic States where there is a large and real Republican



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES.

CHICAGO.

party, primaries of different kinds were held, and a substantial expression of the will of the people was obtained. In these primary states some three million voters, the rank and file of the Republican party, cast their votes; I beat Mr. Taft considerably over two to one, and in these states I obtained about six delegates to Mr. Taft, one ^{nearly}. Three fourths of my delegates came from these primary states where the people had a chance to express themselves. Mr. Taft's strength, as indicated by the two ^{roll calls} ~~votes~~ already taken, consisted ^{chiefly} (aside from his ninety stolen delegates) of the nearly solid delegations from the territories and from the Southern States in which there is no real Republican party — South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi.



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES.

CHICAGO,

Louisiana — and of northern ^{like New York} States, where
the people had no chance to express themselves
at primaries, and where the delegates were
picked by the bosses.
In spite of these ~~unfavorable~~ ^{disadvantages} against me, of
the delegates elected ~~under~~ ⁱⁿ

I obtained a clear majority of all the
delegates elected to the convention. In my
campaign I again and again stated that
if the people decided against me I would
have nothing to say; but that if they
decided for me, and the politicians then
robbed me of the victory, I would not
silently and tamely acquiesce. It was
already evident that my opponents, with
Mr. Taft's encouragement, intended to beat
me by foul means if they could not do
so by fair means.

The ~~important~~ ^{crucial}, but not the only, step, in the



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES.

CHICAGO,

The majority in each case was slightly over fifty. In each case there is, if it had not been for the hitherto successful rascality of ^{these fraudulent delegates} ~~which~~ placed ~~on the roll~~ ~~and~~ ~~per~~ and permitted them to vote, the cause of decency would have won; Mr. McGovern would have been elected in place of Mr. Root, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{never} ~~the~~ Deacons' motion would have prevailed, and the Republican National Convention would now have been exercising in good faith the high, and honorable, and vitally important, function of honestly representing the wishes, the judgment and the interest of the plain people who make up the mass of the Republican party. Instead, it now actually represents nothing but successful political fraud perpetrated in the interest of political and financial privilege.



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES.

CHICAGO.

There were some minor contributions to the fraudulent victories. The six Ohio delegates at large for instance represent the deliberate nullification of the 47,000 anti-Taft majority in the Ohio primaries; a piece of trickery performed by the professional politicians in response to Mr. Taft's earnest personal appeal. Then there were 20 ^{delegates} ~~men~~ from Maryland, Illinois and Oregon, elected in obedience at primaries ^{was the} ~~which~~ which I carried ^{overwhelmingly}, and solemnly pledged to vote for me. Probably each of them justifies to himself his breach of honor and faith by pretending that he intends ultimately to ~~vote for~~ ^{give me his} single vote (especially if I do not need it); and meanwhile he ^{honors} ~~himself~~ ^{himself} at the thought that he is doing all he can to defeat me by ^{helping} putting on the rolls ninety fraudulent delegates who will vote against me.



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES

CHICAGO,

Mr. Root has announced that ~~he~~
~~will hear~~ ~~but~~ ~~each~~ ~~they~~ ~~can~~ ~~in~~ ~~one~~ ~~of~~
the stolen delegates will be allowed to
vote on his own case, but that all
will be allowed to vote on one another's
cases. ^{from the standpoint of justice and fair play} ~~this is of course~~
such a ruling is shameful. This case ~~he~~ bears
no analogy to ordinary cases, where contesting
delegates have in connection with one another,
and where there is no general conspiracy, which must
be considered as a whole, all these ~~strictly~~ ^{at the same time}
fraudulent delegates were ~~voted~~ ^{by the votes of}
the same National Conventions, to serve the
same purpose. The Credentials Committee expected
to try their cases includes three of their own
members, from the states of Washington, Arizona
and Texas, where the delegations were stolen
in mass. This committee selected as its chairman the
Suggerheim delegates from Colorado who, ^{had already}
as National committee ^{man} assisted in ^{with} ~~participating~~ ⁱⁿ
very frauds upon which he is now to sit in
judgment, ^{hoping} that this committee may do is
entirely out of consideration, and in considering what
they do it will be well to keep in mind the remarks



CONGRESS HOTEL
AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES

CHICAGO,

made in private by one of the National
Commissioners, who then asked why they
had stolen so many more delegates than
were needed for their purpose, answered that
it would enable the Credentials Committee
to make a show of generosity by
admitting unsatisfactory ones, whilst
retaining a number amply sufficient to

[illegible]

lift the unscrupulous man who courts wrong,
such as these, can usually count on having some
respectable men support him, and other respectable
men oppose him ~~only to the~~ but cease their
opposition at the point when it would become
really effective. In this convention the unscrupulous
men who are the leaders have already secured
support from the former class of respectable men,
and they count upon seeing representatives of the latter
class also have little to vote against them, and fear
to take the decisive step of withdrawing convention



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES.

CHICAGO,

with the fraudulent convention itself.
Such are the facts about the
National Convention as now constituted.
I decline any longer to be ~~for~~
bound by any action it may take. I
~~do~~ decline to regard as binding
any nomination it may make. I
do not regard meanful fraud[&]
^{deliberate} political theft, as constituting a title
to party regularity, or a claim to
the support of any honest man of
any party. ^{in its entirety,} and not presumed,
I hope that the honestly elected
majority will ^{this morning} decline fully
purging the roll by the convention ^{of those who have been elected delegates will deposit}
^{a declaration with a collection where action}
is non-determined, and has hitherto been
determined, by a majority ^{which is made of} ~~including the twenty~~
~~fraudulent~~ majority only by the actions of the

Exempt from payment of license



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES

CHICAGO,

delivered without
in this matter
and

the hotel is not
the only one in
the city and
the only one
in the city

fraudulent delegates whom the Convention
has refused to strike from the roll.
If the leaders of the party honestly elected majority
are saying in deference to the moral this action, then
the Convention & choose to protect
with Currier and to nominate as
the candidate of the ~~Republican party~~
I shall accept. If some among them
fear to take such a stand, and
the remainder choose to nominate me
as a Progressist
for the Presidency on a Progressive
platform, I shall accept. In either
case I shall make my appeal to
every honest citizen in the nation;
and I shall fight the campaign
through, win or lose, even if I do not
get a single electoral vote. I
do not wish a single man to support
me from any personal feeling for me



CONGRESS HOTEL AND ANNEX

N. M. KAUFMAN, PRES

CHICAGO,

I have nothing to offer any one; any
 man who supports me will do so
 without hope of gain and at
 the risk of personal loss and
 discomfort. But if, having this
 in view, ^{those fervent} the leaders in this great
 fight for the rule of the people and
 for social and industrial justice,
 which has now also become a fight
 for moral honesty against dishonesty,
 fraud and theft, ^{desire me to fight}
 the fight, ^{I will do it} ~~and~~ ^{there can be no question but that}
 I shall make my appeal to ^{you for which I am fighting}
 all honest men, East and West,
 North and South, and, gladly,
^{I shall cheerfully fight!} ~~I shall do so,~~
^{at any cost} ~~at any cost~~ ^{abide the result, whatever}
 it may be, for no matter what the
 result, ^{the cause is the cause}
 Theodore Roosevelt

TEXT OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT

The time has come when I feel that I must make certain statements, not merely to the honestly elected members of the Republican National Convention, but to the rank and file of the Republican party and to the honest people of the entire nation. I went into this fight for certain great principles. At the moment I can only serve these principles by continuing to bear the personal responsibility which their advocacy has brought to me.

On behalf of these principles I made my appeal straight to the people themselves. I went before them, I made my argument in full, and every move I made was in the open, without concealment of any kind. The opposition to me was extraordinarily bitter, for I was opposed by the practically solid phalanx of the big, conscienceless political bosses, with back of them the practically solid phalanx of the big, conscienceless beneficiaries of special privilege in every form, and of course the many big newspapers which are controlled by or in the interest of the bosses and special privilege.

Nevertheless, in the appeal to the people I won. In many of the Republican states, and of the Democratic states where there is a large and real Republican party, primaries of different kinds were held, and a substantial expression of the will of the people was obtained. In these primary states some three million voters, the rank and file of the Republican party, cast their votes. I beat Mr. Taft considerably over two to one. In these states I obtained about six delegates to Mr. Taft's one. Nearly three-fourths of my delegates came from these primary states. where the people had a chance to express themselves.

Mr. Taft's strength, as indicated by the two rollcalls already taken, consisted chiefly (aside from his ninety stolen delegates) of the nearly solid delegations from the territories and from the Southern states in which there is no real Republican party—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana—and of Northern States like New York, where the people had no chance to express themselves at primaries and where the delegates were picked by the bosses.

In spite of these odds against me, I obtained a clear majority of all the delegates elected to the convention. In my campaign I again and again stated that if the people decided against me I would have nothing to say; but that if they decided for me, and the politicians then robbed me of the victory, I would not silently and tamely acquiesce. It was already evident that my opponents, with Mr. Taft's encouragement, intended to beat me by foul means if they could not do so by fair means.

The crucial, but not the only, step in the concerted and hitherto successful effort to cheat the people out of the victory they had fairly won was taken by the now defunct national committee, which, without one show of justification, and with cynical contempt of the most ordinary rules of decency, in making up the temporary roll unseated ninety fairly elected Roosevelt delegates and substituted for them ninety Taft delegates, who in the convention represent nothing whatever but successful fraud. I was clearly entitled to all these ninety delegates; all the ninety possessed, for instance, clearer titles than the uncontested Taft delegates from New York City, and as to seventy of them, their titles were

as flawless as those of any other delegates in the convention.

Mr. Root was elected, and Governor Dineen's motion for partially cleansing the roll of fraud was defeated by the vote of these ninety fraudulent delegates; the last being a vote on a straight moral issue, the result of which, in my judgment, ought to render it impossible for any man longer to take part in the proceedings of the convention as now constituted.

The majority in each case was slightly over fifty. In each case, therefore, if it had not been for the hitherto successful rascality which placed these fraudulent delegates on the roll and permitted them to vote, the cause of decency would have won; Mr. McGovern would have been elected in place of Mr. Root; Governor Dineen's motion would have prevailed, and the Republican National Convention would now have been exercising in good faith the high, honorable and vitally important functions of honestly representing the wishes, the judgment and the interest of the plain people who make up the mass of the Republican party. Instead, it now represents nothing but successful political fraud perpetrated in the interest of political and financial privilege.

I understand that Mr. Root has announced that no one of the stolen delegates will be allowed to vote on his own case, but that all will be allowed to vote on one another's cases. Such a ruling is a sheer denial of justice and fair play. This case bears no analogy to ordinary cases, where contesting delegates have no connection with one another, and where there is no general conspiracy which must be considered as a whole.

All these ninety fraudulent delegates were seated at

the same time by the votes of the same national committeemen, to serve the same purpose. The credentials committee appointed to try their cases includes three of their own number from the states of Washington, Arizona and Texas, where the delegations were stolen in mass. The committee selected as its chairman the Guggenheim delegate from Colorado, who had already, as national committeeman, assisted in initiating the very frauds upon which he is now to sit in judgment.

Nothing that this committee may do is entitled to consideration, and in considering what they do it will be well to keep in mind the remark made in private by one of the national committeemen, who, when asked why they had stolen so many more delegates than were needed for their purpose, answered that it would enable the credentials committee to make a show of generosity by unseating some, while retaining a number amply sufficient to accomplish all the ends they have in view. Moreover, it is well to remember that the fraud is equally great and equally reprehensible whether the fraudulent delegates actually vote on the nomination for President or whether they are merely used to create a situation which renders it unnecessary for them to vote on the nomination for President. If the roll is not purged in mass of these fraudulently elected delegates the whole action of the convention is tainted.

The committee on rules has just, against the protest of the progressive members, provided for the perpetuation of the national committee in the form responsible for the scandalous outrages which have at this moment brought the Republican party to the breaking point; and they have explicitly refused to recognize the principle of popular Presidential primaries, and have made

the national committee supreme over the people in the matter of primaries.

Unfortunately, in our political life the unscrupulous man who commits wrongs such as these can usually count on having some respectable men support him, and other respectable men oppose him, but cease their opposition at the point when it would become really effective. In this convention the unscrupulous men who are the leaders have already received support from the former class of respectable men; and they count upon seeing representatives of the latter class, who have hitherto voted against them, fear to take the decisive step of severing connection with the fraudulent convention itself.

Such are the facts about the national committee as now constituted. I decline any longer to be bound by any action it may take. I decline to regard as binding any nomination it may make. I do not regard successful fraud and deliberate political theft as constituting a title to party regularity or a claim to the support of any honest man of any party.

I hope that the honestly elected majority will at once insist upon the immediate purging of the roll in its entirety, and not piecemeal, by the convention. If this purging is not accomplished, I hope the honestly elected delegates will decline all further connection with a convention whose action is now determined, and has hitherto been determined, by a majority which is made a majority only by the action of the fraudulent delegates whom the convention has refused to strike from the rolls. If the leaders of the honestly elected majority disagree with me in this matter, and wish for any cause to defer for the moment this action, then I most earnestly

hope that at least they will insist upon voting on the cases of these fraudulent delegates in block, and not separately. We cannot afford to pardon a thief on condition that he surrenders half the stolen goods.

If the honestly elected majority of the convention choose to proceed with business and to nominate me as the candidate of the real Republican party, I shall accept. If some among them fear to take such a stand, and the remainder choose to inaugurate a movement to nominate me for the Presidency as a Progressive, on a Progressive platform, and if in such event the general feeling among Progressives favors my being nominated, I shall accept.

In either case I shall make my appeal to every honest citizen in the nation; and I shall fight the campaign through, win or lose, even if I do not get a single electoral vote. I do not wish a single man to support me from any personal feeling for me. I have nothing to offer any man; any man who supports me will do so without hope of gain and at the risk of personal loss and discomfort. But if, having this in view, those fervent in this great fight for the rule of the people and for social and industrial justice, which has now also become a clear cut fight for honesty against dishonesty, fraud and theft, desire me to lead the fight, I will do so. There can be no cause for which it is better worth while to fight, none in which it is of less consequence what happens to the individual himself, provided only that he valiantly does his duty in the forward movement. I shall make my appeal to all honest men, East and West, North and South, and gladly abide the result, whatever that result may be.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



Mrs. Roosevelt Greeting Former Secretary Straus at Sagamore Hill



THE DEACON'S PRAYER

BY SAMUEL VALENTINE COLE

A VISITOR, casually running his hand over the books in Colonel Roosevelt's study at Sagamore Hill, came upon a volume of poems that opened at a place where a leaf had been turned down. He found a poem called "The Deacon's Prayer" heavily slashed with a pencil to right and left by a reader who evidently approved its sentiments with vehemence. The suspicion that the vigorous markings had been made by Colonel Roosevelt himself was verified by a sentence from a letter from the author to Mr. Roosevelt pasted on the inside front cover: "It is very gratifying to me to know that you were pleased with 'The Deacon's Prayer.'" The poem was read at the meeting of the Roosevelt Pilgrims in the Trophy Room at Sagamore Hill.

THE hymn had slowly died away;
Then came the pause, and, while delayed
The brethren to exhort or pray,
The oldest deacon rose and prayed:
"O Lord, thine erring ones we are;
Perhaps we do not understand;
And yet we feel that, near and far,
There's need of danger in the land.

"Some things are safe that should not be;
Mob-murder, bribery, the desire
Of them, O Lord, who fear not Thee,
To take away our food and fire.

Because of safety overmuch,
The wolves of commerce prowl and seize;
Thy truth is dangerous unto such;
Thy right, thy justice, send us these.

“And, Lord—we hesitate in this,
So oft we err in speech and plan—
We ask—forgive us if amiss—
We ask Thee for some dangerous man.
Was not thy servant, Lincoln, one—
Him whom they hated so and slew?
Recall thy servant, Washington;
Thine enemies found him dangerous, too.

“And we remember One, dear Lord,
Who walked the ways of Galilee;
He brought and left on earth a sword—
None lives so dangerous as he!
And, oh, we dare not pray this night
For peace with sin, lest everywhere
That sword of justice, truth, and right
Lay on our path its awful glare!

“Beat back the hosts of lawless might;
Quench this accursèd thirst for gold;
And with the love of heaven smite
The hearts that now seem hard and cold.
Vouchsafe to us the power again
To turn ‘I ought’ into ‘I can,’
‘I can’ into ‘I will,’ and then
Grant us, O Lord, some dangerous man.

“Not one who merely sits and thinks,
Looks Buddha-wise, with folded hands;
Who balances, and blinks, and shrinks,
And questions—while we wait commands!
Who dreams, perchance, that right and wrong
Will make their quarrel up some day,
And discord be the same as song—
Lord, not so safe a one, we pray!

“Nor one who never makes mistakes
Because he makes not anything;
But one who fares ahead and breaks
The path for truth’s great following;
Who takes the way that brave men go—
Forever up stern duty’s hill;
Who answers ‘Yes,’ or thunders ‘No,’
According to thy holy will.

“We want a man whom we can trust
To lead us where thy purpose leads;
Who dares not lie, but dares be just—
Give us the dangerous man of deeds!”
So prayed the deacon, letting fall
Each sentence from his heart; and when
He took his seat the brethren all,
As by one impulse, cried, “Amen!”

*Reprinted from “The Great Grey King,” by courtesy of the author and the
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